

169  
P.O. 19  
Telegrams - "SUBSIDED, Cairo"  
Telephone - 1390.

15 JUN 1921  
NO 9065/69

21 Sharia Kasr el Nil,  
Cairo.

15th June 1921. 175

McGarry.

H.P. Brown.

W.K.B.

The situation ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~now~~ <sup>now</sup> very bad  
mentions the authorities Ref. No. EG.110 (2)

Other socialist  
Police are working closely. Prince Aga  
Hassan's command. Bolsheviks are  
interested in  
To The  
see minute after 172

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

18.6.21.



He has been known to the Alexandria Police for twenty years as a man generally holding very advanced ideas on social questions. The Police have described him from time to time as an anarchist, or, politically dangerous. An observer who knows him well and on whose information every reliance can be placed, says that there is no doubt that he holds very strong Communist ideas and that he is active in disseminating them. He is not an agitator in the accepted meaning of the term, but there is no question he wishes to alter the present social order of things, but he is not believed to favour violent methods. His present aim is to unite all workers in Egypt into one big confederation and there is no doubt that one of the methods by which he hopes to achieve this is to by gradually educating the workers in the Communist ideas he holds.

Holding the views he does, he would obviously encourage and associate himself with such a Club as the "ETUDES SOCIALES", which is vowedly the "THIRD INTERNATIONAL" in character. There is also no question he is in touch as an Agent or correspondent in Egypt (note: an open Agent as far as is known) of the "THIRD INTERNATIONAL". He is in communication with LAVILLEFF, who is said to be Bolshevik representative at Vienna, Austria, while he also communicates with "THIRD INTERNATIONAL" Agencies in Vienna

Joseph Rosenthal (1872-1966) is known to historians of early Egyptian communism as a central figure in the inception of the movement. However, his contribution to the formation and activities of the first Egyptian Communist Party lasted a mere 3 years, even less, in his 94-year long life!

In the course of my research on the history of British colonial policing of socialism, communism and syndicalism, and how it shaped post-colonial policies, nationalist narratives, and Egyptian nationality legislation and practices, I kept finding threads leading back to Rosenthal in various archives and literatures.

The more I traced his life story and intellectual and personal trajectory, the more I found his biography to be a powerful testimony of the conflicting forces that shaped the modern history of Egypt and the region, between nationalism and internationalism, sectarianism and universalism, statism and anti-authoritarianism..

In this short graphic interpretation of his life, I will share my ongoing attempts to reconstitute Joseph Rosenthal's intriguing trajectory; what was it like to be an Ashkenazi Jew born in Palestine in the 19th century; a Hasidic teenager son of an ostracized proponent of the Jewish enlightenment movement, a Jewish migrant artisan in Beirut, then Cairo and Alexandria, who came to be critical to all religions' condoning of class hierarchies and exploitation, an Ottoman anarcho-syndicalist with a transnational agenda of solidarity and activism at the turn of the century, a communist and a syndicalist in the context of rising interwar Egyptian nationalism, a Jew struggling to have his Egyptian nationality recognized and his voting rights granted in post-war Egypt, and finally, an aging man who persisted in living through the loss of everything..

In all of this, we learn how sectarian and nationalist maps were drawn over a reality of complex and fragmented identities and trajectories. We also learn how colonialism has been intrinsic to the nature of post-coloniality in the region.

Rim Naguib  
Berlin 2022

Joseph's background and the beginning of his trajectory is bound with Judaism. His father, David Rosenthal, was born in northern Ukraine, in the Pale of Settlement where the majority of the Jews of Russia lived and were restricted in movement and rights.



When David reached the age of twelve, his family decided to migrate to Palestine, in the Ottoman Empire, for fear that they would lose their child to the Russian imperial army, since Jewish boys were liable to military conscription from the age of twelve, and would have to serve for 25 years. A quota was imposed that had to be fulfilled by the heads of the Jewish communities, who would pick those they perceived as "non-useful Jews" to give to the empire's army, which meant the poor and the "heretics" or those who had an affinity to the movement of Jewish enlightenment: the Haskala.



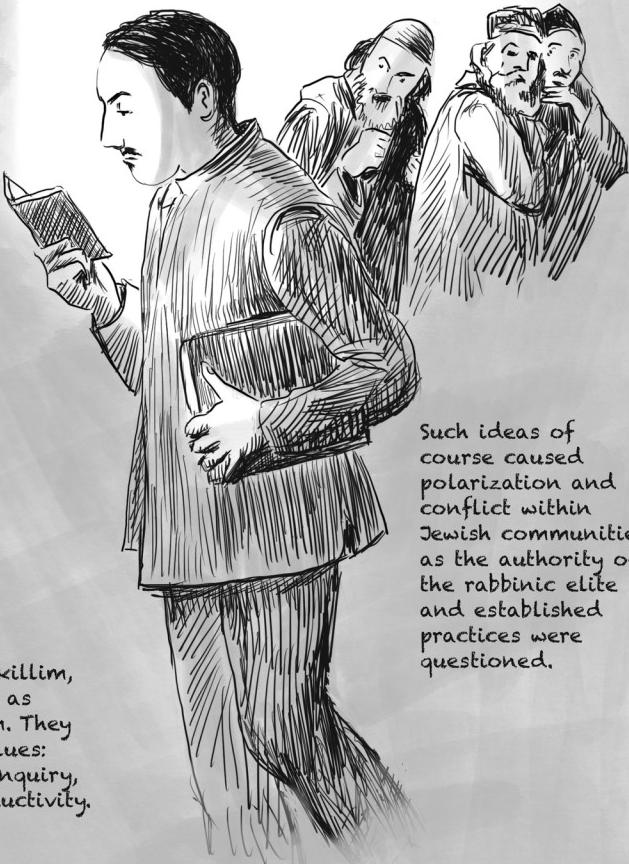
With the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853, the conscription quota of Jewish boys quadrupled, and that's when David Rosenthal's family headed to Safad, Palestine.



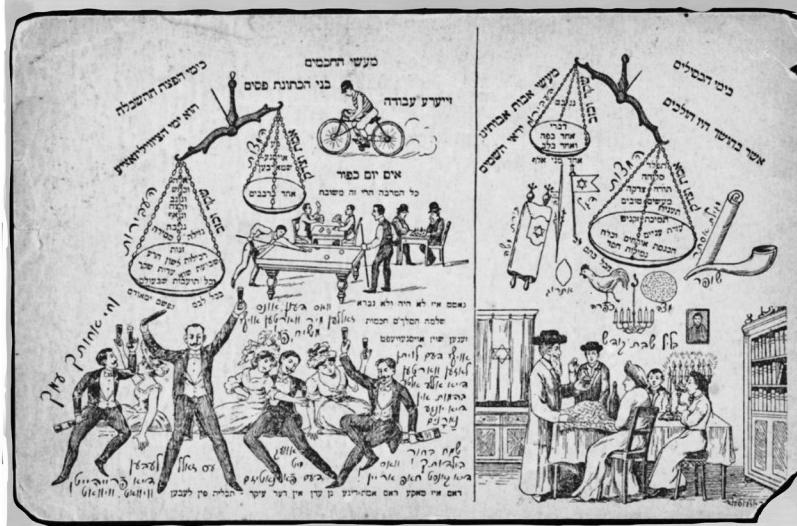
From a young age, David Rosenthal became known for his intellectual pursuits. He had spoken only Yiddish, but taught himself German and French, beside his good knowledge of Hebrew. He pursued secular education in Paris, where he got closer to the Haskala-minded people and organizations.

David came to contribute to Haskala with his writings in notable maskillim journals, which earned him the title of "David der Shreyber" (David the writer, in Yiddish), but it also earned him the persecution of the hasidic community of Safad, which is thought to have precipitated his death at 36, widowing the Safad-born young mother of four, and orphaning five-year old Joseph.

The proponents of Haskala, or the Maskillim, viewed the state of the Jews in Europe as deplorable and in dire need of reform. They advocated the adoption of modern values: rationalism, freedom of thought and inquiry, secular education, and economic productivity.



Such ideas of course caused polarization and conflict within Jewish communities, as the authority of the rabbinic elite and established practices were questioned.



The Haskalah brought forth two opposing movements: that of cultural assimilation, and universalism: the assimilation into the secular political community of the nation-state on the one hand, and on the other hand Zionism, or religious nationalism: the creation of the Jews' own state. These contradictory tendencies born out of the conditions of the Jews in Europe, between nationalism/sectarianism versus universalism and integration played out in the life and times of Rosenthal.

Moses Mendelssohn  
(1729-1786)

Judaism has no tenets of faith  
that could not be arrived at  
through human reason.

Jews must gain a  
secular education and  
develop the Torah of  
Man.

Yosef Perl  
(1773-1839)

Hasidism is responsible for  
the cultural backwardness  
of the Jews.

Naftali Herts Wessely  
(1725-1805)

Max Lilienthal  
(1815-1882)

Government reforms to  
expose Jews to secular  
education are essential

Anti-semitism in Europe is an incurable  
disease.. the Jews must have their own  
homeland somewhere on the planet

Leon (Lev) Pinsker  
(1821-1891)

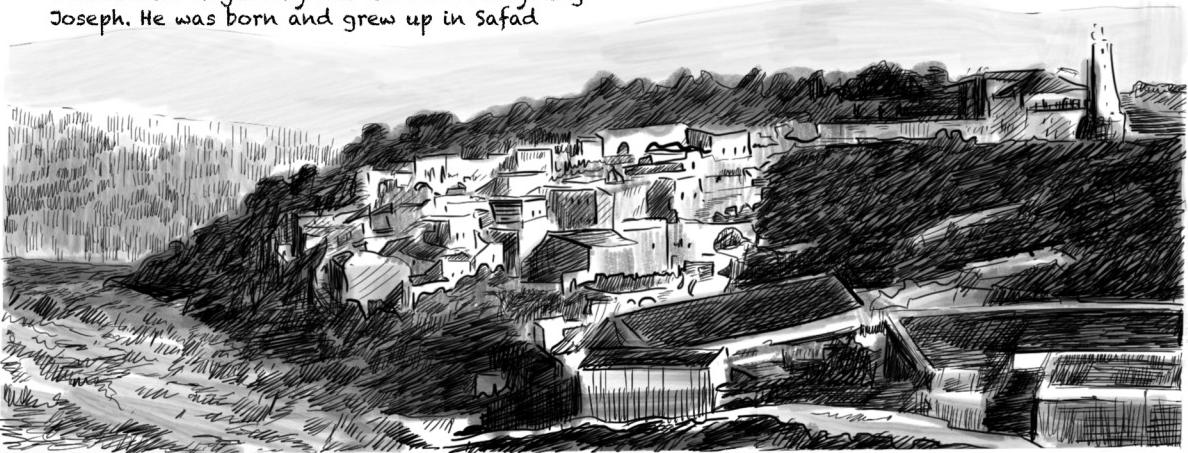
Jews must integrate  
within their respective  
societies

Yitshak Ber Levinzon  
(1788-1860)



But this background to his life story and intellectual trajectory was unknown to young Joseph. He was born and grew up in Safad

SAFAD, PALESTINE 1885



He received all his education in the most traditional setting; at a Karlin Hasidic shtiebel





He took the journey to Jerusalem, for three days over the back of mules. But once in the school in the company of the welcoming maskil director, Nassim Bachar, he was intimidated by the Western outfit and shaved heads of the students, and decided that he felt more at home with the Hasidim of Karlin.



His mother had spent years providing for her children by selling bread or going on ships to Eastern Europe to sell souvenirs from the Holy Land. She must have felt disappointed with Joseph's decision to turn down the offer, but, she said, she preferred to see him happy and thriving rather than enlightened and miserable.

the following year, however, when he was 14, his life changed due to an encounter that caused him to go through a kind of personal enlightenment.

YOUR FATHER 'DAVID DER SHREYBER' WAS AN ACTIVE MASKIL..

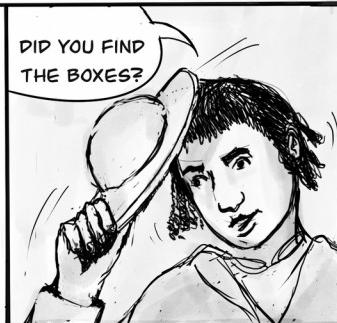
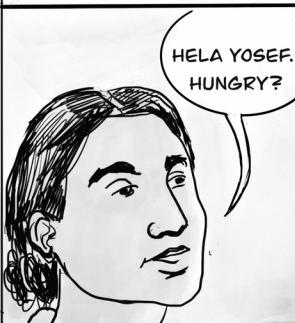
One day, a friend of his deceased father recognized him in the crowd, and invited him to spend a few days at his place.



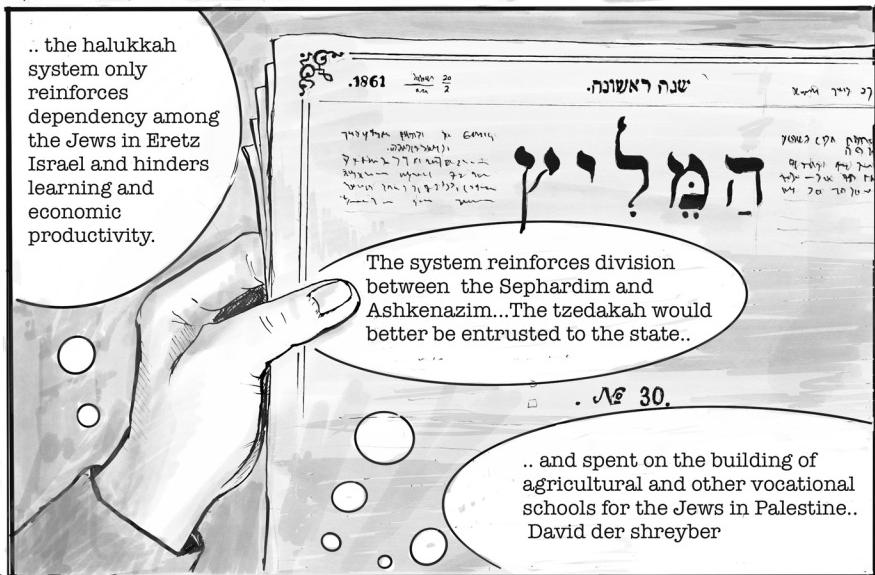
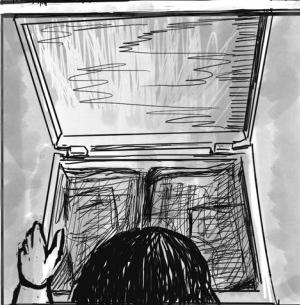
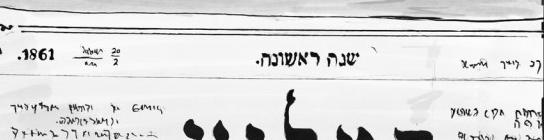
HELA YOSEF..  
HUNGRY?

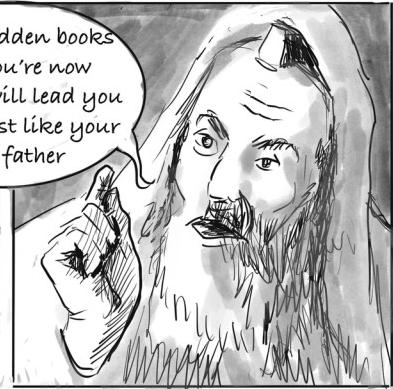
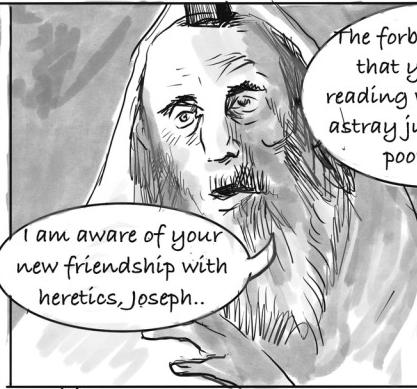
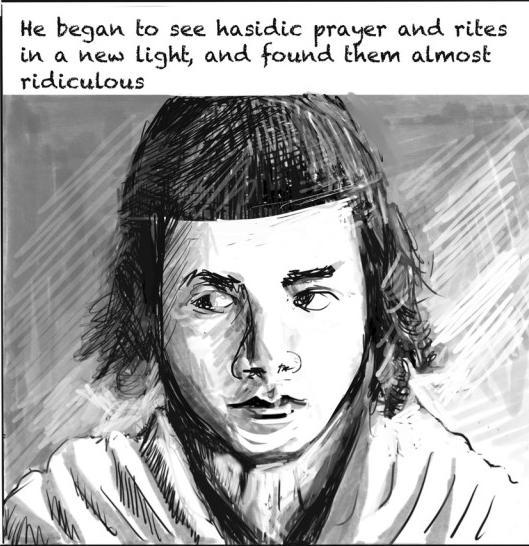
DID YOU FIND  
THE BOXES?

'THAT'S THE ONLY  
ONE WE STILL  
HAVE..



.. the halukkah system only reinforces dependency among the Jews in Eretz Israel and hinders learning and economic productivity.





And so Joseph made up his mind..



He sat down and drafted a letter to Nassim Bachar, the director of the Alliance's school, elaborating on why he has become critical of his hasidic education, and why he regrets not having joined the secular school in Jerusalem.

Before he was able to send the letter however, it was stolen! and it reached the hands of the rebbe. Everyone knew Joseph was in trouble. As he entered the Kloiz for the mid-day prayer, all eyes turned and gazed at him, while a senior of the Shtiebel began to reprimand him loudly and mercilessly, calling him a traitor, an uncircumcised heretic, and read out loud Joseph's letter.

At the end of the long tirade, he ordered him out of the Kloiz and to never show his face again! It was then that Joseph and his mother decided he should immediately leave Safad, to Beirut where his sister lived.

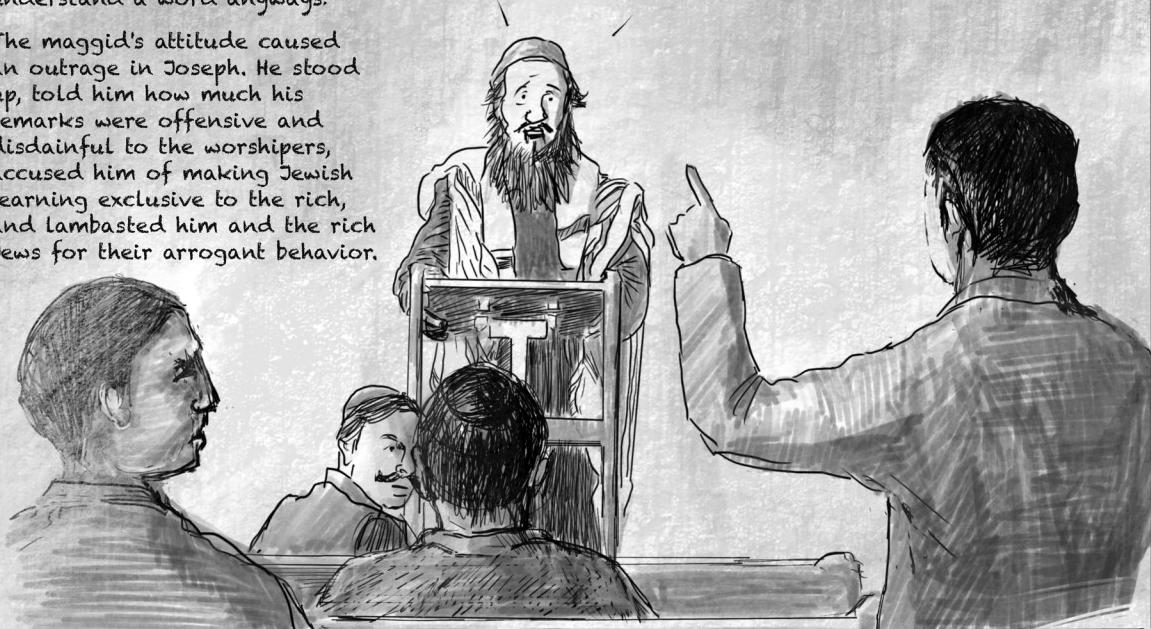


Another influential event happened in Beirut that resolved his ambivalent feelings towards the religious establishment.

One day he learned that a maggid from Jerusalem was going to give a sermon in the synagogue. Joseph and the poorest of the worshipers arrived early to attend. But the wealthy Jews did not show up on time, and the maggid waited for them to start the sermon.

After a while he gave up and began speaking, only to find them arriving one after the other fifteen minutes into his speech. He stopped, welcomed the rich worshipers, and said he would happily start his sermon all over again, since the rest of the audience likely did not understand a word anyways!

The maggid's attitude caused an outrage in Joseph. He stood up, told him how much his remarks were offensive and disdainful to the worshipers, accused him of making Jewish learning exclusive to the rich, and lambasted him and the rich Jews for their arrogant behavior.



Amid the clamour that followed in the synagogue, a young man approached Joseph and asked him if he was a marxist. It was the first time Joseph had heard of Marx' name. He replied that he didn't know what being a marxist meant.



I am Horn, a member of  
the Jewish Bund. You  
should get in touch with  
this organization.. and  
here, this is Marx's  
Communist  
Manifesto..



When Joseph parted with this man, he felt that he was entering a new phase in his life.

After this encounter, he began reading anarchist and communist literature. He plunged in the writings of Marx, Bakunin and Kropotkin. He found "Arbeter Fraynd" or "Friend of the Worker", a London-based Yiddish anarcho-communist paper, and began to correspond with its editor, the famous Rudolph Rocker.

At this time, there was a transnational network of Yiddish anarcho-syndicalists. They opposed the state and national borders, and strove for a society that organized itself without authority, through small cooperative movements. They shared a commitment to secular Yiddish culture, militant atheism, fighting antisemitism and rejecting the idea of a Jewish homeland.



פערן.



After this initiation into radical ideas, Joseph began to hold discussion meetings in his newly opened clockshop in Beirut, until one day, the mufti of Beirut, the father of his friend, warned him that the Ottoman authorities intended to arrest him, because informants reported that he was inciting against God and against the Porte.

Rosenthal thus decided to move to Egypt.

On his way, he stopped over in his hometown, Safad, and visited a number of Jewish settlements.

He was critical of the rising Jewish nationalism, and was convinced—along Jewish bundists and Yiddish anarcho-syndicalists—that the solution to the problem of the Jews globally lay in their socialist struggle, along others, against exploitation, and sectarian and racial hatred. He was also dismayed at how the employees of the Baron de Rothschild had created yet another system of distribution and patronage, and how the functioning of the settlements depended on the exploitation of Arab labor.

## Alexandria, Egypt 1898



He arrived in Alexandria as a young man of twenty-seven. Beginning a new life..



Charlotte, his elder daughter, was born the following year. She would become a communist activist and a comrade of her father, and their fates would be intertwined.

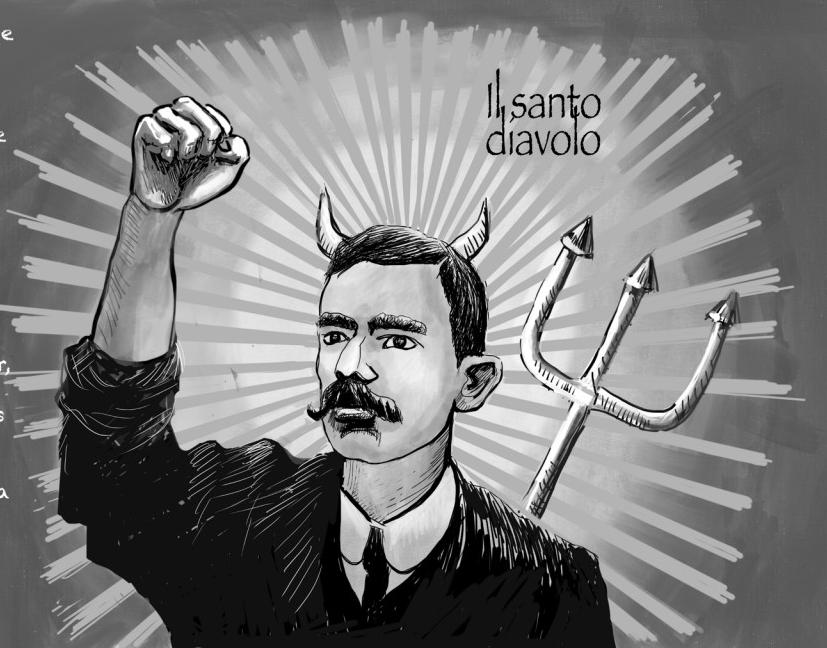
..and expecting new life..



Once in Egypt, Joseph became the political companion of "il santo diavolo" (the saint devil), Pietro Vasai, who arrived in Egypt at the same time, after his life had consisted of a series of arrests, expulsions and prison sentences, for his anarchist and socialist activism. He fled to Tunisia first, where he learned the job of typographer and published an anarchist paper, and from there to Egypt, where he carried on with his printing and editing work—thanks to a collection of stolen typesets—and played a pivotal role not just in the anarchist press that flourished in Egypt in the first decade of the 20th century, but in various organizational and syndicalist activities that he undertook with Joseph Rosenthal.

Despite their completely different backgrounds and trajectories, Joseph and Pietro were both anti-state, anti-nationalist, and staunch proponents of self-organization and direct democracy. They wanted to see borders vanish, and strove to stretch networks of transnational solidarity, locally and internationally.

During these years, Joseph seems to have acted as a bridge between Jewish/Yiddish, and Italian anarcho-syndicalists in Alexandria.



## Perchè siamo Anarchici - Che cosa vogliamo.

### L'INTESA.

Da molto tempo si sentiva il bisogno tra gli anarchici residenti in Egitto, di liberamente intendersi e determinare il metodo tattico per la propaganda delle alte idealità alle quali s'ispirano; perciò furono da tutti accolte e ben accette le proposte fatte dai compagni di Cairo tendenti a indire un convegno nel quale si sarebbero discusse le questioni che in questo paese, maggiormente interessano per tracciare delle norme atte a determinare una propaganda, coerente alle aspirazioni libertarie ma efficace e pratica in modo da interessare e gli operai della mente e quelli del braccio.

Il convegno ebbe luogo in Alessandria domenica 1° Agosto, nella sala del Circolo Ateo, con numeroso concorso di compagni.

La discussione durata quasi 3 ore fu elevata serena ed esauriente.

Furono ad uno ad uno discussi i quesiti presentati dai compagni di Cairo, col questionario che qui sotto riportiamo e furono concrete le relative risposte che riproduciamo; queste approvate alla quasi unanimità stabiliscono i metodi da seguirsi nella propaganda anarchica in questo paese, metodi che pur mantenendo intera la coerenza dei principi, lasciano una razionale libertà d'azione tanto agli anarchici aggruppati quanto a quelli che intendono esercitare la propaganda individualmente.

La pubblicazione di un giornale di propaganda libertaria fu assicurata con solide basi.

Siamo lieti di questo avvenimento che ha dissipato molti equivoci e malintesi e che permette agli anarchici di riprendere il loro posto di combattimento nelle palestre ove lottano per un migliore avvenire gli uomini di cuore coscienti e fidenti nell'avvento della Giustizia Sociale.

Gli Anarchici d'Egitto.

# LA TRIBUNE LIBRE

## **ORGANE INTERNATIONAL POUR L'EMANCIPATION DU PROLÉTARIAT**

## **COMMENT S'AFFRANCHIR ?**

L'émancipation des ouvriers  
doit être fait par l'ouvrier  
même !

KARL MARX.  
Nous ne pouvons être vraiment libres quand ceux qui sont autour de nous ne le sont pas.

M. BAKOUNINE.

Quand nous, les dépossédés, les accablés voulons améliorer notre situation, quand nous voulons nous émanciper de l'escravidon bourgeois et de la tyrannie du capital; quand nous voulons nous débarrasser de l'inégalité sociale, de l'oppression et de l'exclusion, quand nous voulons démolir l'autogestion entre nations et nations dans certaines classes et classes, entre hommes et hommes, quand nous voulons enfin nous affranchir radicalement de tout ce qui nous accable, nous devons être déterminés à faire plus long que tout cercle abstrait ou nous soumettre, nous, ouvriers, nous devrons prendre en considération toute la Société, ses divers aspects, avec son passé, et son présent, car tout en nous et autour de nous, est «l'atlas».

Par l'histoire, écrite en caractères sa-  
gcents, nous savons la lutte, le combat,  
engagés entre les hommes d'un côté,  
étaient pour la vie matérielle, la  
question du pain, la lutte pour l'existence  
assez barbare mais après tout excusable  
même dans sa forme primitive le Cannibalisme;  
parce qu'il puisse au source de  
l'inistitut de conservation par quelles  
seuls ont manqué les connaissances  
la richesse naturelle qui peut fournir  
alimentation suffisante à l'homme.  
L'autre, la lumen-simplicité, la lumen-  
bêtise, l'ignorance, de l'ignorance  
contre la science, de l'obscurantisme  
la lumen, lettre qui a englouti les  
victimes humaines, que le cannibalisme  
même parut un jeu d'enfants devant ce  
monstre qui s'est manifesté sous  
forme de Dieu, Religion, Patrie!

Je ne veux pas m'entretenir longuement sur les particularités de l'histoire de l'évolution humaine; je veux simplement donner les deux principales lignes suivies par l'humanité le long de son voyage à travers l'évolution.

Les hommes se sont améliorés; leur esprit a été dénudé, les phénomènes mystérieux de la nature ont été compris; l'homme a maîtrisé les forces de la nature; il les a façonnées à son usage; beaucoup de richesses naturelles ont été découvertes, le ciel a ouvert ses portes aux investigations des savants et leur a livré ses secrets; la

**Pour tout ce qui concerne le journal**  
**S'ADRESSER: à Joseph Rosenthal**  
**RUE ANASTASI N° 41**

#### **Cinq Millions le numéro**

ABONNEMENTS POUR L'ÉTRANGER

One of their common endeavor was the bilingual weekly, La Tribuna libera/ La tribune libre dans un pays comme l'Egypte, où

In one of his editorials in October 1901, Rosenthal wrote a piece describing the enemy of human existence as the trinity of God, Religion and the Homeland.

He attributed to private property the enslavement and oppression of humanity, and advocated self-education so that people can rebel against authority and private property, and take their affairs into their own hands.

He wrote that the struggle for the emancipation of all human beings, cannot be along national, occupational or even class lines, but a struggle of all people.

REMERCIEMENTS

Nous sommes heureux d'exprimer notre entière reconnaissance à la presse, aux intellectuels, à la classe ouvrière et au public qui ont accueilli notre nouvel organe avec intérêt et sympathie. C'est une preuve éclatante que les idées de tolérance et de solidarité, internationale et d'humanité ne sont pas de vains mots. Malgré les nombreux temples, de différentes cultes, malgré les drapeaux de différences sociétés, nous trouvons dans l'humanité

pas vis-à-vis de la nature, mais dans la nature dont il fait partie intégrante. En quoi nous n'en peut dire ce qui est bien ? Nous n'avons pas ce qui est agréable ou nuisible pour nous, mais nous ne sommes pas toute la nature. La vermine, par exemple, est pour nous désagréable, mais avons-nous le droit de la tuer, ou que n'aurions pas la vie si elle existe ? Nous oublions que du point de vue de la vermine les hommes sont des animaux très nuisibles pour elle et elle a le même droit de nous appeler la vermine, que nous de lui donner ce

Cependant, il y a une grande part de vrai dans ces paroles de Rousseau. Notre action éducative consiste, non pas à faire, mais à faire dégénérer la nature. Ce n'est pas l'indépendance, la spontanéité qu'on cherche à éveiller, on n'a d'autre but que de faire ses enfants la seconde édition de soi-même. Et

faire provision de nouvelles forces alliees pour continuer le lendemain notre travail, et ainsi jusqu'au jour où la mort nous séparera. Je vous le demande; Est-ce tirer Vivre, cela signifie; développer toutes les facultés, toutes sortes des aptitudes, non seulement pour soi, mais aussi pour les autres. Il est indispensable pour cela, d'avoir ce que vont dire les deux derniers

REUILLY-LE - LA TRIBUNE LIBRE

# L'éducation libertaire

## CONFÉRENCE PAIX DOMAINE NEUFKIRCHEN

Rousseau l'exprime très bien quand il dans son *Emile* : « Nous naissions faibles, nous avons besoin de forces : nous naissions dépourvus de tout, nous avons besoin d'assistance ».

Together, Vasai and Rosenthal organized notable civic initiatives and anti-state mobilizations in Alexandria. These include the Free Popular University in 1901 and the International Association for Emergency Assistance, following the outbreak of cholera in the summer of 1902.

L'UNIVERSITA POPOLARE LIBERA  
e gli operai.



But the most important contribution of the organizational anarchists in this period was their forming of mixed or international unions and "lignes de résistance" among workers, which steered the workers away from the dominant national and craft divisions that characterized the predominantly European labor movement at the time.

Anno II.

Alessandria d'Egitto, 11 Aprile 1903.

N. 34.

Abbonamenti:

BORGO: Un anno. . . . P.T. 20  
Sei mesi. . . . . 10  
Tre mesi. . . . . 5

ESTERO: Un anno. . . . Fr. 10  
Sei mesi. . . . . 5

Una P. C. il Numero.

Inserzioni:  
Solo in quarta pagina; prezzi a  
convenzione

Pagamenti anticipati.

Indirizzo:

Giornale L'OPERAIO

ALESSANDRIA - Egitto.

I manoscritti, anche se non pubblicati, non si restituiscono.

Degli anonimi non si tiene conto.

C. MARX.

# L'OPERAIO

PERIODICO SETTIMANALE

Lavoratori di tutto il mondo, unitevi!

Tutti gli operai possono essere nostri collaboratori: noi non domandiamo lavori letterari, ma IDEE e FATTI.

## LA COSCIENZA INDIGENA

Lo sciopero dei vetturini dichiaratosi in questi giorni in Alessandria ha un particolare significato.

Si noti prima di tutto che tutti i vetturini sono indigeni, i quali non hanno nessuna educazione intellettuale e sociale. Essi ignorano ciò che fanno in Europa i fratelli dello stesso loro mestiere: ognivoltanto i loro diritti sono lesi. Ignorano i progressi che per l'istruzione hanno conseguito tutti i lavoratori del mondo, se non nei fatti, nel concetto d'intendersi la loro situazione.

Ebbene, questa massa numerosissima di vetturini ignoranti si mette in sciopero per le mule che gli agenti di polizia infliggono loro e per esigere migliori trattamenti dai loro padroni che li sfruttano indegnaamente, e per stabilire una tariffa che possa garantirli di fronte al pubblico. Qui infatti l'agente di polizia è tiranno coi vetturini: egli è il loro naturale nemico perché quando gl'imponne una multa gli fa intendere pure che mediante una piccola mancia data a lui, la multa gli viene risparmiata senz'altro. Qualunque cittadino può tuttavia constatare talvolta un battibecco

mo, con la sconfitta dei vetturini perché essi han dovuto sedere alla fame e alla miseria; ma ciò non significa che il loro atto non valga assolutamente nulla e che non possa ritenersi sintomatico di altri scioperi rivoluzionari in avvenire.

Noi sullo sciopero — abbiamo detto e ridetto in questo numero — abbiamo le nostre idee chiare e ripetiamo che esso non è qualcosa di soltanto dell'emancipazione dei lavoratori. Allora si potrebbe dire alla rimanifestazione d'uno sciopero della stessa classe operaia, che esso si limiterebbe alle classi operaie.

Noi sullo sciopero — abbiamo detto e ridetto in questo numero — abbiamo le nostre idee chiare e ripetiamo che esso non è qualcosa di soltanto dell'emancipazione dei lavoratori.

Noi non possiamo però fare a meno, in Egitto, di tenere in una giusta considerazione il solo atto dello sciopero. Poiché fa piacere a vedere gente che si ritiene comune refrattaria a qualunque protesta e a qualunque reclamo — fare una e l'altro, d'un tratto, improvvisamente, mera violenza — un'intera cittadinanza che

Pochi, dotati di forze superiori a quelle della generalità dei viventi, sono riusciti ad abbattere i più deboli, a renderli schiavi, a proclamare la loro sovranità. Essi si appropriano

da e abbiamo da sperare bene. Noi non andiamo dunque errati dicendo che occorre sempre negare le ragioni del sequestramento di fratellanza fra gli uomini come fattore di civiltà.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza. La

risposta stupenda che mi ricordo di aver sentito è questa: «In questo modo da destare sentimento di fratellanza fra gli uomini è nè più niente». Questa domanda è nè più niente, nè più un fatto. L'opinione è un fatto, ma l'opinione è un fatto di civiltà.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

Fatto, mi natale, rispondo di sì. Perché? La domanda è di natura di

condizione di conoscenza.

Non faccio tante parole. E ritagliandomi un po' di tempo, mi pongo la seguente domanda:

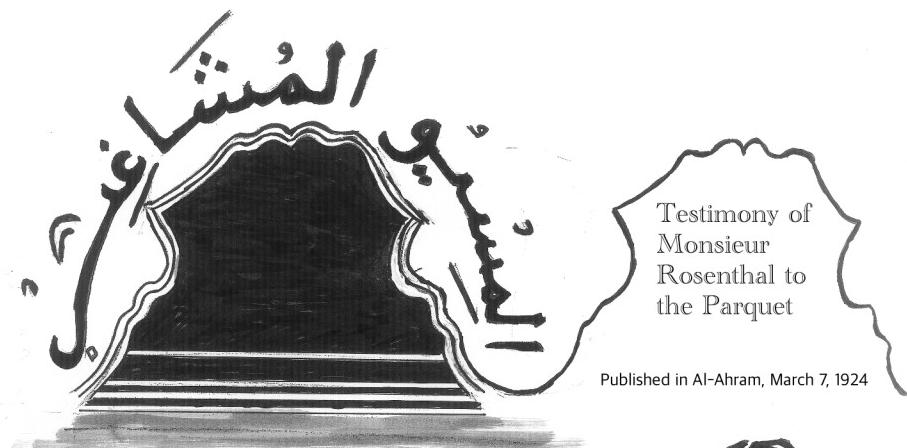
Rosenthal's syndicalism among indigenous workers began in his workplace, when he encouraged the Egyptian workers at Zusmann's jewellery shop to organize and demand an eight-hour working day, and a holiday on labor day.

The shop owner, a fellow Jew, offered Joseph a differential treatment to stop him from inciting the workers, but Rosenthal did not give up the collective demand.

In another instance he threatened to resign if an indigenous worker, who was fired without indemnity or prior notice, was not reinstated.

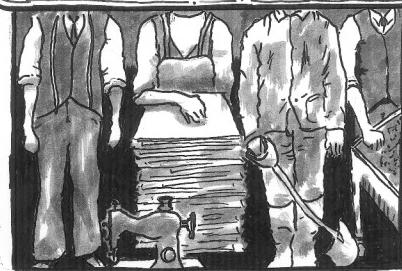
It was common practice in colonial Egypt that factory owners would appeal to communal or national identification among workers to break strikes and worker solidarity. Rosenthal was aware of this, and it was exactly that which he wished to struggle against.

He then began to hold "circles of self-education" for workers in his home, and from these meetings the seeds of several syndicates were born.



Published in Al-Ahram, March 7, 1924

As soon as I arrived in Egypt, I began to organise labour unions; first the union of cigarette rollers, then the unions of metalworkers, of printers, and of tailors..  
At the time, they were predominantly made up of foreign workers..



Rosenthal's name also figured in instances of significant mass mobilization in Alexandria, in solidarity with victims of state tyranny and clerical oppression across borders, such as the large-scale demonstrations against the extradition of Russian anarcho-syndicalists and members of the Black Sea Sailors Union in 1907 and in 1913, and such as the mobilization against the execution of Francisco Ferrer in 1909.



January 20, 1907

YESTERDAY'S SCENES IN ALEXANDRIA.

VIVA LA LIBERTÀ !  
A BAS LE TSAR !  
ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ  
يسقط الاستبداد  
убежище

To all outward appearance, Alexandria, ordinarily so peaceful on a Sunday, seemed yesterday to be in the very throes of a revolution. The agitation in favour of the release of three Russian refugees, who have been arrested by the police on a very grave charge, and to which we referred on Saturday, yesterday assumed much more serious proportions than were warranted by the facts of the case. Headless of the diplomatic difficulties which stand in the way of such a step, and regardless of the Capitulations, a large proportion of the European population of Alexandria is clamouring for the release of three Russian revolutionaries, whose extradition they wish to prevent—on grounds which are purely sentimental.

Rosenthal's anarchist phase focused on transnational solidarity and fighting racism and nationalism and on the value of self-organization against the power of the state. His ideas would undergo a slight shift following the war, partly due to the general global intellectual shift from anarchism to socialism and communism, but also due to his desire to help in the anti-colonial nationalist struggle, and to effect social change in Egypt through party politics, with the backing of the new soviet state.



The first world war, and the mass mobilizations that broke out across Egypt in 1919 against British colonialism and state wartime extractions, would be a turning point in Rosenthal's political trajectory. The rising numbers of indigenous workers in the industrial workforce, as well as the radicalization of the Arabic-speaking population, filled him with hope for social change in Egypt.

He thus focused on organizing the labor movement, forming socialist discussion groups and eventually organising the Egyptian socialist/ communist party. His Confédération Générale des Travailleurs (CGT) gathered a membership of about 20,000 workers in 1923, two years after its formation. And despite the reluctance of nationalist heads of worker unions to join it, it played an important role in organizing labor action in the period of its operation.

The heads of the unions resisted the idea of a general inclusive union, for fear of losing their power. We therefore formed a general confederation of workers with only 300 workers.



We then decided to form a party to defend the interests of the workers in the legislative assembly against capitalist exploitation.

(الاهرام) الاثنين ٢٩ أغسطس سنة ١٩٩٣

بيان الحزب الاشتراكي  
المصري  
في تلك الاوائل التي تتصف فيها النظم الارستقراطية  
الفردية بحياة في الانسات وأرواحهم وعوهم  
وحجودهم وبنفس النظم ولبلادي الاشتراكية في  
الاقداء المقدمة لا غماد الانسانية واغاثتها من بطن  
القوى القاطلة وتحقيق غرامات العدالة المضجعة من تأثير  
عواطفنا التاريخي والسلام في المجتمع الانساني

Rosenthal's anarchist anti-nationalist focus shifted slightly in the context of the nationalist anti-colonial fervor. And this was manifested from the moment he invited Egyptian intellectuals to form an Egyptian Socialist party in the summer of 1921, including the fabian Salama Musa.

Its manifesto was published in Arabic in al-Ahram, signed by the Egyptian leadership alone. Rosenthal later noted that he decided not to include his foreign name, to stress on the Egyptian character of the party.

The manifesto linked capitalism to colonialism, and stated as its first objective, the liberation of Egypt and the entire Nile valley from colonialism.



### Manifesto of the Egyptian Socialist Party to the Manual and Brain Workers of the World.

The brutal and aggressive tone in which the British military and colonial officials have replied to the sacred demands of the Egyptian people has opened our eyes to the most naive and credulous among us. The veil has been torn and the hideous features of our oppressors have been revealed in all their ugliness. With pride and dignity we hurl our challenge through the faces of the Egyptian people to the British militarists and imperialists. Forty years of foreign occupation with all its military terrorism and its arbitrary laws of persecution have not been able to weaken the spirit of the Egyptian workers and peasants or to make all the necessary sacrifices for the conquest of our independence.

We have demonstrated to the world and to our oppressors the vitality of our people which did not recoil before any menace to proclaim on high its right to national life and liberty. It is now by diplomatic means that we must seek our independence or dependence which do not represent the wishes of the people that independence can be obtained. Only the workers and peasants, conscious and organized, can win it.

The Socialist idea, which is the expression of the renaissance of the peoples of the world has appeared on the scene of Egyptian political life. The Egyptian Socialist Party will place itself at the head of the first rank of the national forces in the demanding of our rights to complete national independence, freed from all imperialist and capitalist enslavement, domestic as well as foreign.

The Egyptian Socialist Party, standard-bearer of the proletarian and party of the class struggle, declares that in the union of all ethnic Egyptian people in the suppression of aggression by the oppressors, power and Britain, it will not cease to maintain our Socialist program and will not renounce its struggle against the Egyptian capitalist tyrants and oppressors, accomplices of the aggressors.

Egyptian intellectual proletariat will cease all collaboration, of whatever nature it may be, with our oppressors and when necessary will sacrifice their personal interests for the higher interests of the people and of the holy national cause. The Egyptian proletarian workers and peasants, extends a fraternal hand to the world proletariat, particularly to the proletariat of Great Britain, that together they may march to the assault of the imperialist citadel which under its weight sublocates not only the enslaved peoples of the Orient, but also pitifully oppressed peoples of Europe and the Balkans, and of Europe. The peoples of the Orient count on the assistance and support of the world proletariat in their struggle against the common enemies.

The struggle for the conquest of independence on the part of the peoples of the Orient is also a struggle bearing a clear Socialist character. The world proletariat is enslaved and exploited by the same English capitalist exploiters.

Let the diplomats plot and intrigue and betray the interests of the masses. We, the proletariat, are ready for a long and bitter struggle. Our battle-fields are our trade-unions and our forces in the trade-unions and are bringing together the workers of the city and country. Let the intellectuals go to the peasant to create a united political and economic front which will at the same time act as a counter-balance to the influence of the bourgeoisie.

Without hesitation and without fear let us group ourselves around the banner of the International Socialist and final struggle against our only enemy—British imperialism, which is the highest expression of world capitalism. On the victory of Socialism and on the seizure of power by the proletariat depends the independence and emancipation of the peoples of the Orient. And by its influence upon the workers of the West and of the East we will vanquish our common enemy—capitalist imperialism.

Long live independent Egypt!

Long live the International of the workers!

Long live the Social Revolution!

The Egyptian Socialist Party.

Cairo, 22 December 1921.

### بيان الحزب الاشتراكي المצרי

في تلك الاونة التي تصف في القائم احزاب الارهان والاذى  
الفردية بعدها في الامارات دارواهم وعزمون  
وهوهم دين ودين واليسير الاشتراكي في  
الاحداث المئوية لا يهدى اذى اذى واعذا من على  
القوى العالم ومحقق غائب الملة المفبركة من قيادة  
مولوك المدى والعلم في المجمع الاناني  
المصالح على انتبات السبع من والمتمنى المتمنى



بيان الحزب الاشتراكي المצרי والبلدي وغيرة (٣) - حرب حقوق  
النوية والانتخاب من القوى الالية وتحريمه  
والبيه للجل والمرأة في مرحلة مطالع (٤) النعمة  
مطريق الفتن والاضطراب  
حيث في زرخوان يقوى اقرب الى العمل على  
حقوق تلك الالهات النكبة مستعين بهيفت الامة  
وحرب كلها  
على العمال سلاسل وموسى  
محمد عاصي عباس حسني العان  
و جاسطة اطلال الاصمام رسول موسى الـ  
مسكين العزب  
دود  
احمد عبد الله عمان الحسيني  
محمد الناصرة السيدة

In January 1922, another manifesto was published in Inprecor, the organ of the Third Internationale. This one was more expressly nationalist, focusing on the struggle against "foreign occupation" and vowing that the Egyptian Socialist Party will place itself in the vanguard of the national battle for complete independence, using terms like "the holy national cause" and the motto "long live independent Egypt". The manifesto took pains to make the claim that both socialism and the cause of national independence were in line, and that the anti-colonial struggle in the orient "bears a clear socialist character".

It is not certain that Rosenthal is the author of this manifesto. But it reflects his own shift towards accommodating nationalism with communism. He personally backed the Wafd nationalist party and its leader Saad Zaghlul, and, in a meeting with the Wafd's Makram Ebeid, Rosenthal is said to have suggested the mobilization of the workers through his CGT to oppose Adly's premiership in favor of the Wafd.

But Rosenthal's nationalist turn did not spare him the fate of being increasingly regarded as a "misyu" and a "khawaga", associated with European colonialists and those who benefited from colonial privileges and hierarchies.

He was perceived as European although he had never set foot in Europe, and never stepped out of the Ottoman Empire. He also did not benefit from the capitulations, since he did not possess any European subject status. He was an Ottoman subject by virtue of the 1869 Ottoman nationality law, and he would qualify to being considered Egyptian according to the turn-of-the century decrees that regulated this question based on birth and duration of domicile in Egypt. At the time of the founding of the Egyptian Communist Party, and throughout most of the 1920s, an Egyptian nationality law had not existed, and these old decrees regulated the question of subject status.

But Rosenthal's cosmopolitanism, his speaking several languages, his being an Ashkenazi Jew, in the Jewish trade of clockmaking and jewelery, and his connections to the various European communities, were sufficient markers that made him a khawaga or a misyu in the eyes of some Arabic-speaking Egyptians.

On various occasions, al-Ahram stressed on Rosenthal's foreignness and distinguished him from "the nationals" (al-wataniyyin).

The first instance was when he sought to compete in the Alexandria municipal elections for the Egyptian seat in 1920. Al-Ahram exclaimed, "we must tell him to stop!" "there are many Egyptian notables who are more entitled than you, to hold the only available seat for nationals in the council!" and invited him to run in the elections as a Russian, arguing that no Egyptian would vote for a European, even if a socialist voice in the council will be beneficial for the people.

The second instance was when the paper announced in the following year his intent to form an Egyptian Socialist Party, and argued that Rosenthal's socialism was not suited to national conditions, ethics, customs and interests, and called on "everyone working for the interest of the country to monitor such a party".

In both instances, Rosenthal was striving to claim membership in the Egyptian nation and to participate in its civic and political life as a citizen, and in both instances al-Ahram's discourse focused on his foreignness, and denied him this claim.

لـ ٢٣٠ لـ ٢٤٠ لـ ٢٥٠ لـ ٢٦٠ لـ ٢٧٠ لـ ٢٨٠ لـ ٢٩٠ لـ ٣٠٠  
الابتعادات لـ ٣١٠ عدد انتارهم . وائم ما يجب افت  
لـ ٣٢٠ الجبور الوطنى الله ملة الله السيو روزنال تاجر  
المحورات المقدم للانتخاب عبادي اشتراكية . ان  
هذه البايدى حذاء وحنا لـ استبعان الرجل ان  
يائماً مرشها روسيا كان وكما يجب ان يكون .  
اما هو فيقدم حى الان يصفه مرشح وطني فيجب  
أن يقال له قف فان عندنا من هو احق منه  
يجلس على الكرسى الواحد الذى يخلو في البايدى  
الوطنيين . وما من وطني في الاسكندرية وعاصي  
صونه في الابتعاد روزنال او غيره ويرى عالم زر  
بات الحدبى او من كان مرشحاً مثله من وجهاء  
القاهرة

الحزب الاشتراكي المصري

يسمى المؤمن روزنثال مند أمد يميد لانا  
حزب الاشتراكي في هذه اللاد وجد عمل بالطاحونة  
مبحقو المستاجر ثم باخداد النقابات مع موافقة  
السي لاتفاق جماعة من الولطين لأن ياشوه في  
مشروع وقد يجعجع يان اتفتح الدكторون على افندى  
المتناني يان يمكن سكرتير الفرع الوطني كايكون  
مو دنانه آتي روزنثال سكرتير الفرع الفرنساوي  
والانكشاري وكما يكون الخواجا بربيلوس سكرتير  
الفرع اليوناني ولا شوك يان هذا الحزب سيمان  
برناجه ولا شوك يان عدنا البرنامج يتضمن وعموماً  
ليبيه ولكن الوعد شيء والمصلحتشي آخر  
وحللة البلد الاجنبية تقضي علينا وعلى كل  
عامل في مصلحته برقبة حزب كهذا لا لانا شيك  
التعالى والذاهب الاشتراكيه البليه العلية. بل لانا  
نكبة النظريات المتطرفة التي تهيي بالافظة وغبن  
نود التطوير رويداً رويداً  
ولا نرف مذهب الدكتور المتناني من هذه  
الوجهة ولا ماهي اشتراكيته. وهل هي متطرفة  
أو عملية ولكننا نعرف شيئاً كا يسطه ورساءه المؤمن  
رويداً رويداً نعرف انها اشتراكية متطرفة وقد يتجادل  
الوطئين فينعرف انها اشتراكية متطرفة وقد يتجادل  
حدود الطرف. قبل الدكتور المتناني من مذهب  
ان لكل امة اخلاقها وعادتها ونمطاً لها  
بعض ان يجري في ايطاليا والمانيا ورومانيا - مثلاً -  
ان يتبع في مصر

To add to this, Rosenthal was attacked from within the party..

Although he was working along an Egyptian effendi, Husni al-Urabi, to arabize the party's central committee, becoming himself the "head of the European section of the party", an ideological fissure occurred in mid-1922, between the moderate intellectuals of the Cairo section and the radical tendency of the Alexandria section, but it was formulated in nationalist terms by the moderates..

Salama Musa attacked Rosenthal and his steering the party towards communism on the pages of al-Ahram..

And despite the defense by another Egyptian member of the Cairo group, Muhammad Abdalla 'Anan..



Rosenthal is jeopardizing Egypt's claim for independence.. our loyalty to Egypt must be stronger than our loyalty to socialism!



Musa's brand of socialism is English reactionary socialism! It is national and selfish socialism.. The Egyptian working class will acquire strength from joining the Third Internationale and from solidarity with the workers of the world.

.. Musa's line of argument echoed well with the anti-socialist and anti-communist tendencies of the Egyptian elite and the conservative press.

Egyptian capitalists are Egyptians after all !!

Rosenthal is fomenting enmity between social classes in Egypt! He is harming Egypt's national interests.

At the same time, the British were working up a plan within the Egyptian government to get rid of Rosenthal.

The Acting Director of British Intelligence, Humphrey Beaman, together with the British director of public security within the Egyptian Ministry of Interior, and the British Foreign Office, contemplated different ways to deport Rosenthal without "raising dust in England".

The British adviser to the Ministry of Interior wrote a special note about him summing up his reported mischief since 1901, when "he came to the notice of the police as a rabid and fanatical anarchist spreading subversive propaganda amongst the local Jews", that "he figured prominently in the 1913 extradition case of Adamovitch", that he was "reported by the refugee administration as being the instigator of intrigue and troubles amongst Russian Jews" and noting his prominent role in the strikes of 1920 including the shop renters', the tailors' and the barbers' employees strikes.

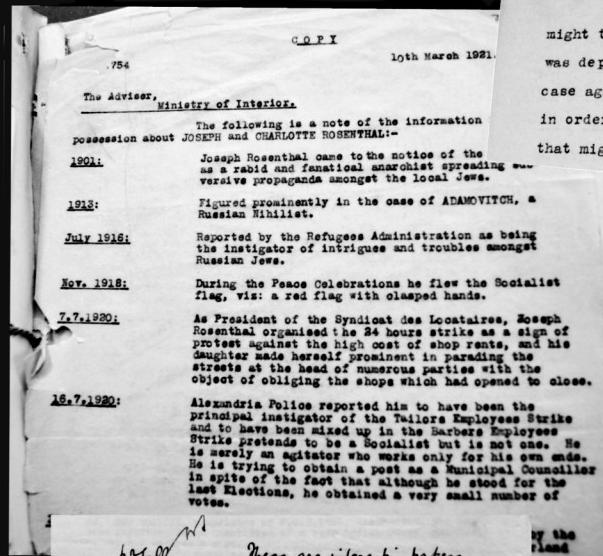


The links he had with various socialist groups and labour organizations impressed British officials, to the extent that they reiterated that the deportation of Rosenthal and his daughter would seriously affect the prospects of radicalization in the country. One despatch argued that "communism in Egypt is a 'one man show' and that 'one man' is Rosenthal".

General Clayton from the War Office cited the benefits of deporting Rosenthal, either by the Egyptian government or "by us under martial law".

Rosenthal's national origin was debated in the correspondences, and the British wished to find evidence that he was Russian to legitimate his deportation. When they failed, Graves, the Acting Director General of Public Security, argued that the fact that he was a local subject "would not legally stand in the way of his deportation".

But the attempt to deport him, would have to wait until the Wafd was in power, and until it launched its fierce anti-communist campaign during its first government, in coordination with the British..



*M.Jelly  
M.Turner  
H.Patrick*

These are interesting papers about Rosenthal & Rosenthal. There seems some chance that the latter may shortly give the go-ahead to deport him.

*Bro. Tandy*

It is desirable to be quite frank. Mr. Rosenthal is carrying on certain activities against England. On what grounds can he remain here during the war? The fact that he is a Russian few does not seem a very sufficient reason. And if he is here, he can clear this up. See my note.

claims to be a local subject, but that would not legally stand in the way of his deportation, if, for example, his Palestinian origin can be proved.

might try and raise dust in ENGLAND if ROSENTHAL was deported and we should therefore require a good case against him before taking any such action in order to have a complete answer on any enquiries that might be made. Dr Granville also seemed to



*H.Jelly*

This is a definite case establishing Mr. Rosenthal as agent here for "Simp. Belarik and communist associations. He is attempting to introduce sanguinely subversive literature written especially for Egypt & certain to foment trouble & disturb public security.

It seems enough to warrant action on the part of the Egyptian Government or by us under Martial Law & his removal might leave - at any rate temporarily - the growing communist party in this country, without an organising leader.

lived are practically unanimous in indicating that these activities are inspired and sustained by Rosenthal. It would appear almost true to say that Communist and allied movements in Egypt are a "one man show" and that the "one man" is Rosenthal.

signed: N. W. Clayton  
for DIRECTOR GENERAL.

But before this blow hit Rosenthal, another drama was unfolding: a plot to exclude him was being prepared from within the party ranks, from his closest associates.

In a party meeting, following the return of al-Urabi from the fourth congress of the Comintern in Moscow, in December 1922, it was claimed that..

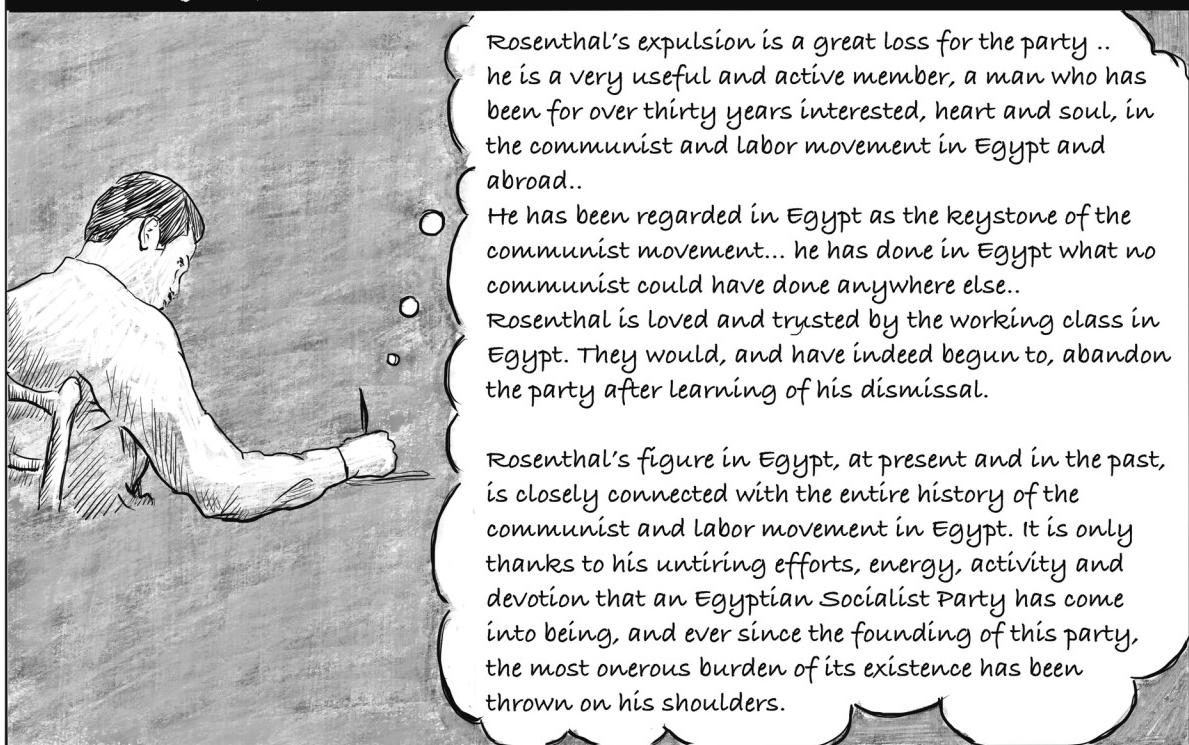


This was Yehiel Kossoi, also known as Avigdor, a Soviet agent sent to Egypt to aid in the formation of the Egyptian Communist Party, and who had become Rosenthal's son-in-law by marrying his daughter Charlotte..

Historian Rami Ginal shows through a reading of the Comintern archives, that the plot was al-Urabi's and Avigdor's and that the Comintern had nothing to do with it. In any case, the decision was a great shock to Rosenthal. His expulsion could either be a friends' betrayal or a Comintern distrust, both were very hard to accept and tormented him.

He attempted relentlessly to have the party and the Comintern reconsider the decision but his letters were met with silence from the Comintern and scorn from al-Urabi, who questioned Rosenthal's integrity on the pages of al-Ahram, and, in his letters to the Comintern, described him as a bourgeois and as insignificant to communism.

Al-Madani, a party member whom al-Urabi wanted to appoint as bursar in place of Rosenthal, defended him and even submitted his resignation in protest. He wrote to a Comintern leading member, Georgeo Safarov:



Rosenthal's expulsion is a great loss for the party .. he is a very useful and active member, a man who has been for over thirty years interested, heart and soul, in the communist and labor movement in Egypt and abroad..

He has been regarded in Egypt as the keystone of the communist movement... he has done in Egypt what no communist could have done anywhere else..

Rosenthal is loved and trusted by the working class in Egypt. They would, and have indeed begun to, abandon the party after learning of his dismissal.

Rosenthal's figure in Egypt, at present and in the past, is closely connected with the entire history of the communist and labor movement in Egypt. It is only thanks to his untiring efforts, energy, activity and devotion that an Egyptian Socialist Party has come into being, and ever since the founding of this party, the most onerous burden of its existence has been thrown on his shoulders.

In the tensions that ensued, Rosenthal was losing connection with his beloved daughter in the Soviet Union. She had left for Moscow in 1922 to study at the University of the Toilers of the East, and was joined by Avigdor. Rosenthal wrote him a letter:

*I received no letters from Charlotte. Did anything happen to her? Please update me at once. You know very well how deeply I am attached to her, and her absence hurts me a lot. What am I to blame for, to make me suffer so much?*

*My worries and suffering greatly affect my activity for the party. These feelings also affect my ability to express my views in detail in this letter.*

Perhaps he was feeling that his beliefs were then costing him the dearest of all.. He wrote another letter to the deputy head of the Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern, when Charlotte was sent to Tashkent by the organisation and news from her had ceased again:



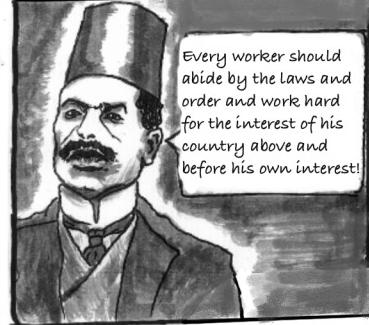
*I particularly feel desperate because Charlotte is not just my daughter, physically and materially, but also my soul, my thought and my spirit. She symbolizes my ideal and my hope. When I sent her to Moscow, the crib of the proletariat's revolution, the center of social regeneration, I believed that through her, I would be able to merge with the masses, who were marching towards the conquest of a new world, a world of justice and happiness for the exploited and productive workers. I regard her as the one who would continue, refine and accomplish my life's work that I modestly commenced in Egypt about a quarter of century ago. My work has become more intensive in recent years, owing to the encouragement and influence that I received from the Russian revolution and the Comintern..*

The dismissal from the party, and the abandonment by the Comintern, did not spare Rosenthal the plot to deport him, when the Wafd cracked down on the party.

At the end of 1923, the CGT took part in a wave of labor mobilizations which culminated in the workers' occupation of the National Spinning Company and the Egolin Oil factories in Alexandria. The factory occupations coincided with the electoral victory of the Wafd in January 1924 and the rise of its charismatic leader, Saad Zaghlul to premiership.

But the Wafd and its leadership perceived the labor mobilizations as a campaign to discredit its new government and the nationalist cause of independence.. it would work side by side with the British to crush the socialist and labor movements

The entire leadership of the nationalist movement was made up of large- and medium- landowners who wished to see no change in the socio-economic status quo, and focused on the question of political independence.



Only one month had passed since the rise of the first elected national government to power, when Zaghlul took action. To end the occupation of the factories, he ordered the under-secretary of state, and Keown-Boyd, the head of the European department within the Ministry of Interior, to proceed to Alexandria with a battalion of Egyptian infantry, and "to show a firm front".

The delegation reported back that the strikes were "engineered by the communist party" rather than stemmed from real grievances.



Who taught you such methods of occupying the factory?!  
The communists??

Well.. we've seen the workers in Milan occupy their factories to demand their legitimate rights before the rise of Mussolini

If you show respect to the property of others and leave by your own will, you will be treated as people who are faithful to the law and to the homeland..

..but if you refuse to, and insist on violating the property of others, you will be treated as disobedient outlaws!



A fierce crackdown ensued on the Egyptian Communist Party and the CGT. Leaders and suspected members were arrested, and twenty foreign party members and workers involved in the strikes were deported. Wafdist leaders and union heads loyal to the Wafd, attacked the communists as foreign troublemakers who tried to mislead patriotic Egyptian workers.

## التحقيق مع الشيوعيين

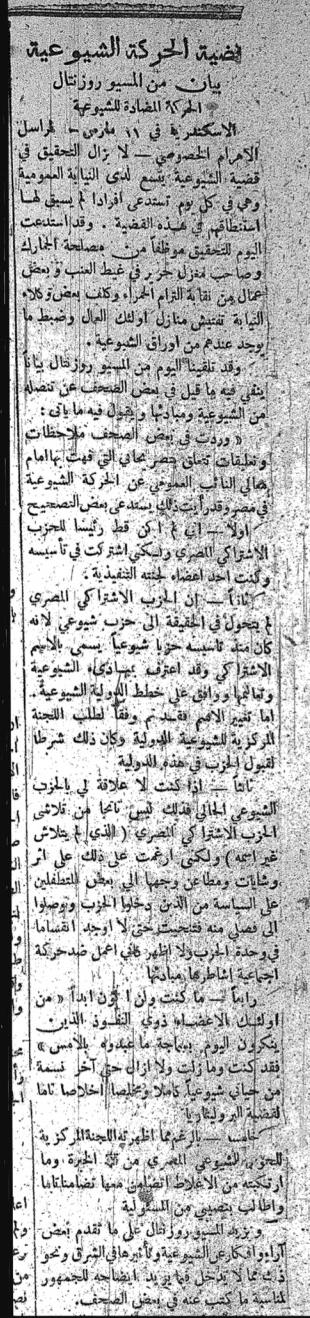
شهادة السيد روزتال  
تاريخ نشأة حركة العمال والاشتراكية في مصر

الاشتراكية في مصر — حاصل عضواً في اللجنة الإدارية وانتهياً بمنصب قنصل الامم المتحدة — تلقى رسالة من السفير التزبيب في الأقمار .. كون لي الاتجاه الماركسي .. تمثيل العمال .. كلها ملامة مهينة تجاهن .. حوزت درجة دكتوراه شهادة شهادة العالم .. كان قدم الاسكندرية بالزعيم فله عدد اعضاء .. عليه كفالة ثقوق .. قنصل المركب الازاري .. وقد

After the arrest of the Egyptian leadership of the party, the prosecution summoned Rosenthal as a witness.

At the court, he answered the Parquet's questions about the difference between socialism and communism, and explained that the factory occupations stemmed from the workers' desperate situation. His testimony was published in full in al-Ahram, and the paper commented that his testimony was an important historical document.

Two days later, he sent a personal statement to be published in al-Ahram..

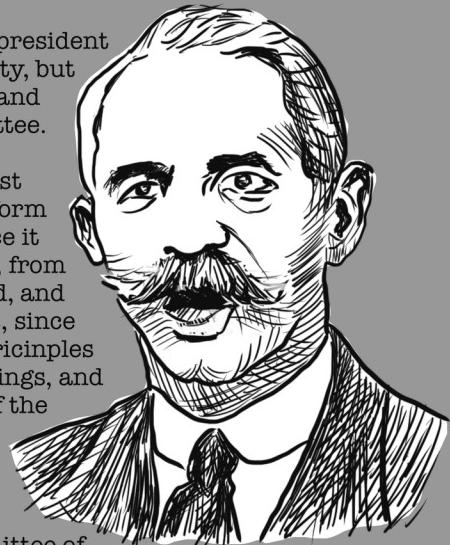


"Due to misunderstandings that stemmed from my recent testimony to the Egyptian parquet about the communist movement in Egypt, I deemed it necessary to make some corrections.

First, I have never been the president of the Egyptian Socialist Party, but I contributed in founding it, and I sat on its executive committee.

Second, the Egyptian Socialist Party in truth did not transform into a communist party, since it has always been communist, from the moment it was conceived, and socialist only in name. It has, since its beginning, adopted the principles of communism and its teachings, and subscribed to the schemes of the Communist Internationale.

The name change, to The Egyptian Communist Party took place upon the demand of the central committee of the Comintern, as a condition to accept its membership.



Third, if I no longer have a connection to the current communist party, that is not because the Egyptian Socialist Party vanished, only its name has, but I was forced to quit it due to tears and stabs directed at me by intruders to politics, who have entered the party and managed to dismiss me from it, following which I have decided to resign, so as not to create divisions in the party's unity, and in order not to cause any harm to a social movement whose values I believe in.

Fourth, I never was, and will never be, one of those influential members, who would blatantly deny today what they had worshipped yesterday. **For I have been, and I still am, and I will always be, until my last breath, a communist wholly loyal to the cause of the proletariat.**

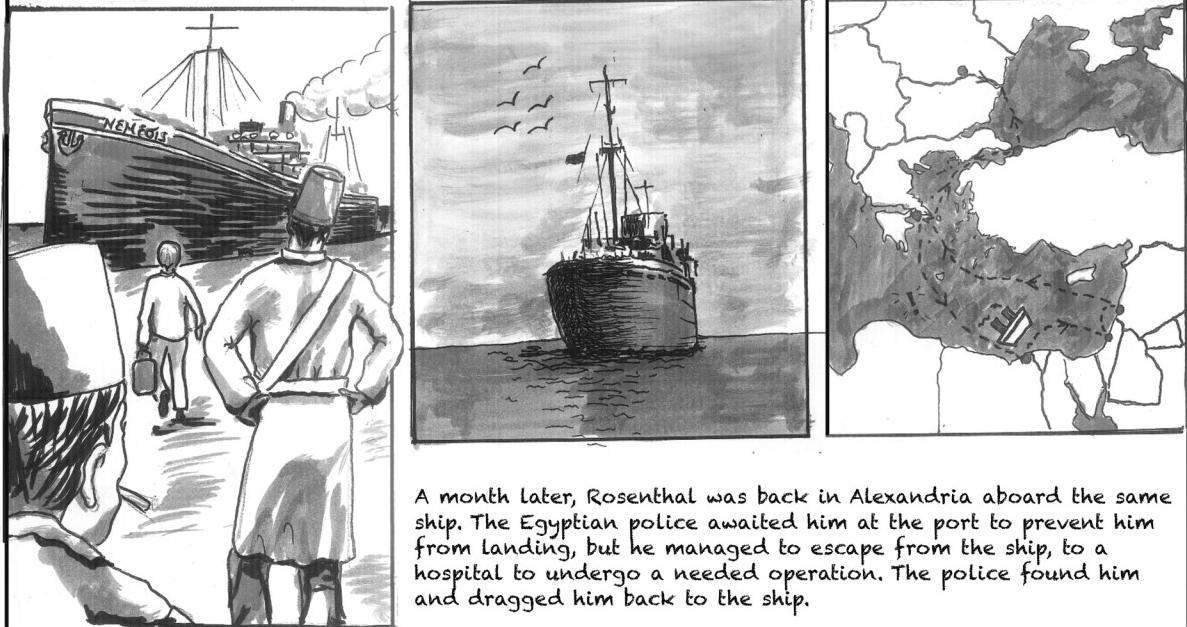
Fifth, despite what the central committee of the Egyptian Communist Party has shown of lack of experience, and despite the errors it has committed, **I stand in complete solidarity with its members, and I demand my share of responsibility.**

After his statement was published, Rosenthal was summoned again by the prosecutor, and held onto the views he had expressed.



He was detained, and told that he was to be expelled from Egypt, despite his protestation that he was an Egyptian citizen. The deportation of Rosenthal was an example of a rising and systematic policy in the British policing of socialism, communism and labor activism in Egypt, led by the British European Department within the Ministry of Interior, and approved by the newly-elected government: to deport all "foreigners" or "local subjects of foreign extraction" suspected of communism or active in the labor movement.

A few days later, Rosenthal was put on board the Thimsis, a cargo vessel, and embarked to Romania, but there, he was refused entry. While the Thimsis was roaming the Mediterranean looking for a receiving country in vain, al-Ahram reported regularly on the whereabouts of "the wandering communist".



A month later, Rosenthal was back in Alexandria aboard the same ship. The Egyptian police awaited him at the port to prevent him from landing, but he managed to escape from the ship, to a hospital to undergo a needed operation. The police found him and dragged him back to the ship.

الشيوخ على التائهة

**الاستثنائية في ١٥ سبتمبر — تراسل**  
**الامم المتحدة لخصوصي — اجرت اليمم المغربية**  
**روزنادل عملية جراحية في مستشفى الحكومة**  
**و كانت عملية ناجحة وهي تستدعى مكثفه في**  
**المستشفى لمدة أيام .**

**وقررت حضره وكيل اداره الامن العام**  
**مع احرار الدار الى اعورسون المغاربة الذين ي**  
**لوم طرب روزان منهاجا يريد لهم عذرًا مقولا**  
**غير تصريحهم بذلك و ينطوي ان عالوا على مجلس**  
 **العسكرية لها كلتهم**

الش

فراوده من البشرية التي هو فيها وأعاداته إليها  
وصل إلى وزارة الداخلية من حافظة  
الاستاذ بستانيه امين حسوان الظاهر بلاغاً عما ورد  
ان الموساد المكثون اخفاها على المسئولين المسؤولين  
ومنهم من مغادرته اليابان «نيس». التي هو  
فيها ارسلت اليها من المسئولين اليابانية اذ اتفقا  
امس صباحاً على عيدهم في اليابان والختيف في المسئولية  
نزل منها الى اليابان والختيف في المسئولية  
وصل اليها امس بعد الظهر الاخر  
آخر عودة ان اليت من المسئولي ورددت  
القضى الهرماني التور عليه في مستنداته من  
مستشيات الاستاذ بستانيه اقامها له حالات للإثبات  
عليه على ان تعميل له فيه عملية جراحية وقد أعيد  
من المسئول الذي اشتغل في اليابان خارقها كان فيها وضوعت  
أرباعه على قدميه  
وقد فتحنا ان وزارة الداخلية أمرت حافظة  
الاستاذ بستانيه بالتحقق مع الموساد المكثون  
الحافظة على الموسى ورجل المقرطة الطلاق الذي  
لا يستطيع بالموالى الى ما يشاء الاستاذ بستانيه وفي تعيين  
الأشخاص الذين تم عليهم تعيين ذلك

التأئب

الاسكندرية في ٢٧ مارس  
الاهرام المعمورى في ٣١ المارس «تم»  
ويم الست القائم على الاسكندر به وهي  
الباخرة التي افاقت المسير روز ظال «شيعي  
الله» ودوماً على الباخرة التي أبى عليه ترول فيها  
ويشتغل من دونها بيات من المسير روز ظال  
تشبهه لا يزال حتى الا ن يغوص البخار  
على ابروه هذه الباخرة  
وقد اقر ابراهيم ان حكمته السوفيت هررت  
ان تقيمه في الادما وان حكومة رومانيا عادت  
فاخارات على المأمور مما الى تلك الباخرة «تم»  
فين الباولياني دعوه به على الباخرة «تم»  
الي الاسكندرية يداوة على ظهر هذه الباخرة سفناً  
الي رومانيا فروسيما

While the authorities were looking for a country to accept to take Rosenthal, he filed a lawsuit against the government, for trying unlawfully to deport him from his own country, citing his rights according to the Egyptian constitution (the first Egyptian constitution had only been written the year before).

After a few weeks in detention, a representative of the Public Security administration, and the head of the Secret Police, both went to see Rosenthal, and offered him to sign a pledge that he "will no longer propagate communist ideas in Egypt and will not interfere in workers' issues", and that he will drop his lawsuit against the government. In exchange, the government will release him and will allow him to apply for Egyptian nationality in the legal ways!



حل مسالہ وزیر

الحكومة تأخذ عليه عهداً

۱۰۷

الاسكندرية في ٢٠ فبراير - مارس الاخير  
المحصولي - حيث مسأله الاخواه يوسف  
روزغزال أو كاتب - فقد اخذت وثيقة وزارة الداخلية  
حضرته سعيد بن العزيز من ادارة الامن العام  
لليبحث في أمر ورجل مشتكى به في الاسكندرية  
لهذا الفرض - وقد ذهب اوس الى المستشفى  
الاميرية - حيث لا يزال روزغزال مقتلا -  
ويصاحب حضرة كمال افندي الطراوي رئيس  
الاوساط السري والاسنان مصطفى الطراوي اعن  
حصمه روزغزال - وباحت الرجل في هو انت  
لليبحث فيه - وعند تبادل الاراء والمناقشة في  
الموضوع قبل مسيو روزغزال ان يكتب مكمل  
على تمسكه بتعهد فيه بأنه لا يستغل بعد الا ان  
يبيت المدعى الشيوخية في القطر المصري - ولا  
يندخل في شئون العال - وأنه يتنازل عن  
المدعى عليه التي رفعت على الحكومة المصرية من  
اجل مسأله الجنسية وطلب التعرض - ويعتبر  
بأنه من اهل عذاب ومحنة ثانية - وهو الى  
في ان يسعى السعي القانوني لابيات جنسيته  
المصرية

Rosenthal took the offer, but a few weeks after his release, he tried to obtain a voting card and was denied, on the basis that he was not Egyptian, despite all the evidence he presented.

Luckily, he had not dropped the Lawsuit against the government but only postponed it. When the government found out about this, it sued him for not fulfilling the pledge, which he had signed under pressure in detention!

But the day of the hearing of the Lawsuit by the Ministry against Rosenthal, in March 1925, a government official told the judge that there is a reconciliation plan being discussed with Rosenthal, and then made a new offer to Rosenthal, that he drops his Lawsuit against the government in exchange for Egyptian nationality.

مسالة نفي روزنثال  
ودعوه على الحكومة

الاسكندرية ٢٨-٢٩ يونيو ١٩٤٥  
الخصوصي — عالمان السيسى جوزيف ورمان هال  
عهداً الى الاستاذ عز العربى وحيضطون، داعم المقاوى  
على الحكومة من اجل ما قرر من امر اعيده  
من الالامن العام الى اقامته الى الجلسات الصدرى  
الى يومها المستور . وفدارس الخاتمة ادار  
المذكورة الى وزارة الداخلية مقرر اليوم لبيان  
الى هاشم والذى يعطي بطاقة الحكومة بموجب  
ما في قراره القى جنبه على معاذه النقاشات من ان  
المسو روادل عربة عرضية على تابعية الاملية  
شروع فيها من ابوالليل سعفاجا على ما اعادته  
ادارة المخطط من الاجراءات التوفيقية وجسه  
بدون ان يكون يدبه امر المقادس من تابعية  
وبدون ان تنسى له بمهة رسمية وهو يطلب  
بموجب قراره ٢٧-٣-١٩٤٥ في ذلك موسم  
في بهذه الكمية

وقد فهموا ان الشابة ارسلت هذه التكوى  
اليوم الى عمالى القابض المعمى فى الاهرام  
ولا زالت المسسو روض حمال موقوفة فى الوم  
الدالة ولا يزول له سروج من المكفن . وقد  
ایتى له حصلب بعض المدادات من مملوكه والاحتلاط  
الشوابقين الشهرين فى قضية شبوبيه المعروفة  
وكهم لا زاروا موقوفة هناك ما يزيد الاكثر  
مارورون لا يزالون موقوفة هناك ما يزيد الاكثر  
الحضرى المكتوى به مفترع العصبة

What the Ministry of Interior was doing with Rosenthal was symptomatic of a process of securitization of nationality practices, which began under the British, even before the legislation of Egyptian nationality, and continued through the many subsequent regulations and amendments that increasingly focused on facilitating the policing of ideas, and of communists and syndicalist socialists.

From 1925 onward, Rosenthal withdrew from communist activism, although he was summoned for interrogation on several occasions after that date.

Charlotte remained active. She was back from Moscow and took charge of the party affairs when the new leadership were all arrested in July 1925, including her husband Avigdor, until she was arrested herself a few weeks later.

She was Accused of "criminal conspiracy to incite to murder and subvert the system of society by force; to form a league of workers and peasants to intimidate capitalists and proprietors and to spread subversive doctrines and literature..," among other accusations..

Rosenthal tried everything to get his daughter out of jail. He asked for the help of the assistant editor of the Egyptian Gazette, and even approached the acting British High Commissioner, to no avail. But the court acquitted Charlotte anyway at the beginning of 1926, after only eight months in jail, while Avigdor and others remained incarcerated for three years, perhaps due to her father's efforts.

Her release raised criticism in the Comintern, where a report said that "she behaved badly during the trial and denied membership in the Egyptian Communist Party". She was also criticized in Moscow for having been represented by a rich lawyer, a member of the reactionary al-Ittihad party, hired by her father.

The following year, the party held a trial against Charlotte, accusing her of refusing to cooperate with party comrades, and of collaborating with her father and others who were dismissed from the party.

Charlotte and her father were the target of absurd accusations from outside the party as well. In early October 1927, they were accused of plotting with the leader of the al-Hizb al-Watani to assassinate King Fuad during his visit to Europe, to overthrow the monarchy and to establish a republican regime, supported by communist Russia. After two months of investigations, the police determined that there was no such plot.

But anyway, the Comintern and Soviet policy were clearly not enthusiastic for Rosenthal or his daughter. Their marginalization as Jews would become policy. In July 1927, in a meeting with the Comintern's Eastern Section in Moscow, al-Urabi criticized the Comintern's role in reinforcing a hegemony of Jews in the Arab communist movements. A few months later, Stalin ordered the arabization of the communist parties of the Arab East.



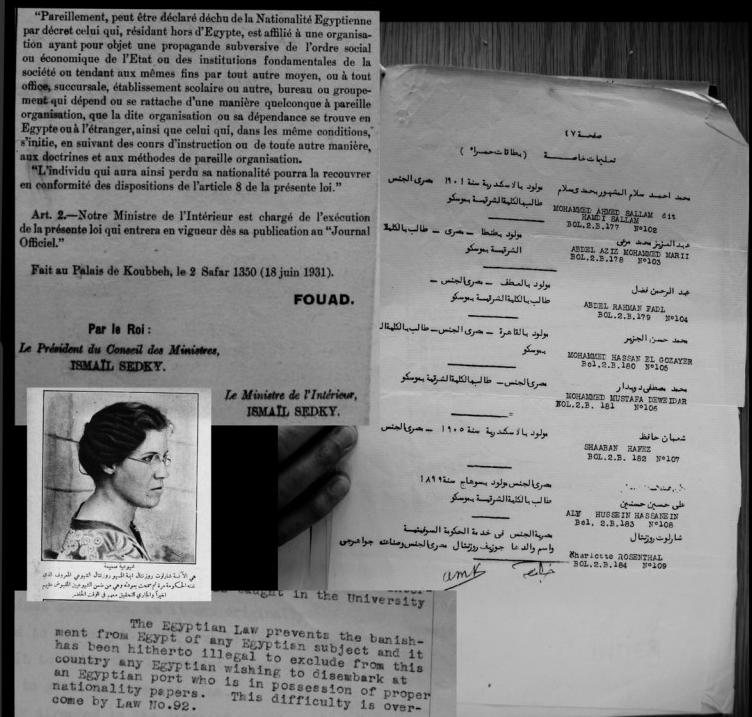
شيوخية صهيونية  
هي الآنسة شارلوت روزنثال ابنة المليونير الشهير المعروف الذي  
شنّه الحكومة معركة ثمّ محظى بمودة وهي من ضمن الشيوخين المقبوس عليهم  
أخيراً والباري الحقين مهم في الوقت الماضي



Charlotte then left for Moscow, and was followed by her husband Avigdor who was deported from Egypt after his release from prison. From there she continued to work for the Egyptian Communist Party and to look after the communist prisoners through her father's lawyer.

A couple of years later, under Ismail Sidqi's premiership, drastic legislations were issued to fight socialism, in coordination with British advisers. One of which was an amendment made to the first Egyptian nationality law of 1929, providing for the loss of nationality by any Egyptian who;

"..residing abroad, is affiliated with an organization aimed at carrying out subversive propaganda against the social or economic order of the state or the fundamental institutions of society, or working towards the same ends by any other means, and any Egyptian who is affiliated with a headquarter or a branch, an educational or a non-educational institution, an office or a group, that depends on or is affiliated in any way to such organization, whether this organization or its affiliates exist in Egypt or abroad, and whomever in the same conditions, learns, by following courses or by any other way, the doctrines or the methods of such organizations"



Before the promulgation of this amendment, the Egyptian government presented the draft to the British authorities for advice and approval. The British Judicial Adviser to the Ministry of Interior and the European Department were favorable to the decree, because, in their words, "it overcame the obstacle presented by previous legislation against banishing an Egyptian subject, in possession of proper nationality papers". They added that the law was designed to prevent the return of those who joined the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow to be trained in socialist agitation.

The Law was promulgated, and immediately eight Egyptians were declared stripped of their nationality, including Charlotte Rosenthal.

Rosenthal was thus separated from his daughter. But the worst was yet to come.

In 1933, Charlotte was discharged from the University of the Toilers of the East after a purge of the institution, on the ground that she was "an unqualified, and haphazard element". Evaluations in her personal file referred to her father as a corrupting "bourgeois element".

Avigdor himself was arrested in Moscow in March 1936 while he was working as an expert on Middle East affairs in the Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern. He was accused of participating in a trotskyite plot, sentenced to five years in prison, but the sentence was immediately converted to execution. In June 1938, he was shot dead at a training base south of Moscow.

Following, the arrest of her husband, Charlotte was also arrested and interrogated, at the conclusion of which she was sent to a hard labor camp in Siberia, where she spent eighteen years, until 1955, when she was released and rehabilitated, like others who had been thrown in the gulag during the Stalinist purge.



In October 1958, Charlotte reunited with her 86 year old father in Alexandria, but only for a short period. Because in March 1959, the Egyptian authorities deported her to the Soviet Union, separating her from her aging father once again!

She lived alone in a Soviet home for the elderly. Charlotte is considered lucky, since dozens of Jewish communists who had been deported to the Soviet Union from Egypt by the Anglo-British security apparatus, were executed in the stalinist purge or died of the conditions of their banishment in hard labor camps, after they were accused of a variety of political crimes.

### What happened to Rosenthal?

He tried again in 1936 to obtain a proof of Egyptian nationality, but his request was rejected based on the Political Police's opinion, because of "his communist views". Rosenthal then filed a lawsuit against the Ministry of Interior, in August 1944, because the Passport and Nationality Department was denying him an Egyptian passport. But this case went on until December 1948, when the court held that it was incompetent to rule on the issue.

He again resubmitted an application to be granted an Egyptian nationality certificate and a passport in 1948, and in 1949, and, faced with the persistent refusal by the Passport Department, he filed a lawsuit against the Ministry of Interior, this time at the recently established State Council.



المملكة المصرية

شهادة جنسية

In the examination of his case in December 1950, the Ministry of Interior's defense raised Rosenthal's communism and the denaturalization and deportation of his daughter in 1931. But the judge refused to accept this as a reason for denying him Egyptian nationality, arguing that this was only lawful in cases of nationality by naturalization and not in cases of nationality by right.

The court thus asserted his right to Egyptian nationality, after 25 years of maneuvering on the part of the Ministry of Interior, and when the man was almost 80 years old, his beloved daughter lay in a labor camp in Siberia, his wife had died, and his other children had left Egypt.

After that, I have not found a trace of Rosenthal. How did he live in Alexandria? Did he really get proper nationality papers after the court ruling? Did he give up?

Most importantly, how did he feel? the tragedy of his daughter and her husband, the oppression raging in the Soviet Union, the only state he had regarded highly, the betrayal by his comrades, the rejection and exclusion by the Egyptian nationalists and harassment by the security apparatus.. It all must have weighed heavily upon him.

In his interview to Yediot Ahronot a few months before his death in 1966, he said he spent the remaining years in Alexandria, absorbed in his work, lonely, but loved and treated well by his surrounding.



In 1963, historian Mohammad Anis wrote an article in the governmental newspaper al-Gomhuriyya, telling the history of Egyptian socialism, and for the first time, giving the main credit to Rosenthal for sowing the seed of the movement.

Anis' articles reached the hands of Charlotte in Moscow, aged 67. She apparently solicited the mediation of Khruschev to request from Nasser that Rosenthal be allowed to leave Egypt.

Anis' article is thought to have angered Nasser, because it was saying that 'a foreigner' was behind the birth of Egyptian socialism! The old man's jewellery shop was subsequently confiscated, and he was "allowed" to leave Egypt.

Rosenthal decided to spend the little time he had left in Palestine/Israel. He had left Safad eighty years earlier, angry, and determined to spend his life fighting religious dogma, sectarianism, nationalism and capitalist exploitation. Now he was back to spend his last days in his birth place in a completely different reality, one that contradicted all the principles and ideals he had fought for all his life. He died at the end of January 1966.